UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Why Not Outlaw War?

By JOHN DEWEY

Where Shall China Look for Help?

By ROBERT B. WHITAKER

The Shame and the Glory of It

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Anna Lloyd Wright

In Memoriam

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCI THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1923 NUMBER 5

CREDO.

I believe, Now and Forever—
In the dawning day and its promise;
In the rising tides of higher ideals;
In the life of struggle and achievement.

And again:
In the courageous burden-bearers of noon-day;
In the restful silence of glorious sunsets;
In the benedictions that fall from silvery stars.

For these bespeak:
The eternal joy and beauty of Childhood;
The resurgent songs of all-conquering Spring;
The more abundant Life that knows no end.

WILLIAM LORD MCKINNEY.

Proctor Academy, Andover, N. H., Easter, 1923.

In his "History of the World," Mr. H. G. Wells emphasizes with all the power of his trenchant pen the utter lack of constructive statesmanship at Rome after the first Punic War. The Republic slowly "slithered" into decay. Meaningless wars, civil and national, decimated Italy. Ruin was heaped on ruin. The sordid plutocracy, that gloried in conquests and fattened on the misery of the people, called for more and more slaves to cultivate the land once the home of free men. Wonderful roads were constructed, great aqueducts were built, magnificent cities destroyed and others founded, but Wells's picture on the whole is of a great empire without leadership slowly drifting to its doom. His picture compells us to ask how this differs from the spectacle afforded by modern imperialisms. They seek not slaves but undeveloped peoples to exploit. Those in the seats of the mighty call on the homeless and propertyless to man their fleets and fill up the ranks of their armies to the end that the wealth of the world shall flow into the coffers of the few. And this process today, as of old, seems to blind men of power to any appreciation of real values and all sense as to the inevitable end of such a policy. For more than a score of years previous to 1914, Europe was headed straight for the great catastrophe. A few men, who knew something of history and were not blind to perfectly obvious facts, called out that the precipice was near. They might as well have whistled at a tornado. The Czar of Russia was the only responsible agent of any government who raised a hand to prevent the cataclysm. And both of the Hague Conferences were largely treated as a joke by officialdom and were mostly concerned with futile endeavors to make war a pink tea party. The only action taken that looked toward staying the onrushing avalanche, the establishment of the Hague Court, came because of the pressure of public opinion aroused by a few comparatively obscure men. Europe continued to tremble beneath the feet of armed men carefully prepared for their work. The storm came, and four long years of insanity followed. Now, does any government, except that of Soviet Russia, show any signs of having learned any lesson? Russia, it is to be remembered, has rid itself of all imperialistic designs. Does England's raid into Mesopotamia, France's backing of Poland, the seizure of the Ruhr, or America's drifting policy, show any signs of constructive statesmanship? Unless we drop the old policies which have led mankind into disaster again and again, Europe is headed straight for another precipice. And the world is so knit together that when that calamity comes it will engulf us all. The plain folk of the world have made some gain in the past two thousand years. They know the utter futility of the international slaughterings of the centuries that have gone. What we need today is statesmen in fact who can look above petty party striving and the passion for ignoble gain on the part of the few, to the real interests of humanity. So long as imperialism remains the policy of Western nations, we will have the same blind leadership that carried Rome to its fall.

If negotiations for a settlement of the Ruhr situation actually come to pass, it will mark a victory for the German policy of passive resistance which history will never forget. The newspaper stories, of course, all intimate that it is Germany that is in distress, and Germany therefore that is suing for relief. But it is significant that all the despatches come from French or English sources—which means either that France is seeking an escape from the Ruhr, or else is using her control of news to induce Germany to do so. Every day makes more exact the identity between France and the man who seized the bear by the tail. The failure of her invasion of German territory is too conspicuous to be longer hidden. For example, the New York *Times,* a paper friendly to France, tells with what "immense difficulty and enormous cost she (France) has obtained a mere fraction of the amount of coal which would normally have been delivered. She has collected little or no revenue and has suffered

almost as great an immediate loss by closing the Lorraine blast furnaces as have German industries by the prohibition of exports." The *Times* describes how "the first large-scale attempt by the French to requisition coal at Westerholt is fantastically disproportionate in its results to the expenditure in men and trouble necessary." It confesses that "all predictions which accompanied the occupation have failed to come true with regard to the value of the mark." It announces that the number of French and Belgian forces in the Ruhr, originally 18,000, has now reached a total of 100,000. After three months, according to the *Times,* "neither side can yet claim to have obtained any distinct advantage over the other," and "the best they can hope to do is to bring about . . . a peace without victory." Was there ever before such a humiliating confession? France armed to the teeth with troops, guns, tanks, aeroplanes, gases and all the rest, fights for three months against an unarmed, defenseless, non-resisting Germany, and not yet has she obtained any distinct advantage—on the contrary, only suffered losses and encountered difficulties beyond calculation! What wonder that she wants to get out of the Ruhr on any terms that will save her face.

The chances are that all the good that Henry Ford has done in the world by his example of efficiency in production coupled with decent treatment of his employees will be overshadowed by the evil he has already wrought by backing with his millions the ancient game of Jew-baiting in the world. We might have gotten along in some way without the ubiquitous "flivver." Other men besides Mr. Ford were setting the example of humane and decent treatment of employees. "Efficiency" may not prove as great a blessing as it now seems to some, but we were getting on in the ways of mass production before the days of the automobile. But men have a surplus of hate. Our job is not to increase it but to get rid of it. It was the last feather that broke the camel's back. He who adds one atom to the present weight of hate that rests on the souls of men, has much for which to be responsible. The above comment is made because the news comes to us that Mr. Ford's book, "The International Jew," with his name as author, has just been published in a German translation in Leipsic. And so this cruel business goes on! Mr. Ford's attacks on the international Jewish banker have become attacks on the Jewish people. These, who have been trampled under the iron heel of war, have to meet a new wave of hate set in motion by a kindly American millionaire. He has played into the hands of every reactionary in Europe and is unwittingly aiding those whose blind hate leads them to deeds of utmost cruelty.

An editorial in a recent issue of a daily paper of wide circulation, we will not say a great paper, contained a phrase that perhaps was the result of thoughtlessness rather than the expression of deliberate thought. But the fact that it could have been written even thoughtlessly, is significant and may well cause us to wonder whither we are drifting. Are the deepest and most tender emotions of the human heart, the highest achievements of civilization, to be ruthlessly trampled under feet every time some fearful soul shakes the bugaboo of a Bolshevist revolution before our eyes? The phrase occurs in the following quotation:

> If capitalistic America continues to feed millions of Russian children and the proletarian czar continues to adopt capitalism, the evangel of communism can be carried to the benighted west, and some day perhaps all the world may enjoy the benefits of the proletarian dictatorship.

Every reader of UNITY has already picked out the literally terrible words. Thank God, America has not sunk so low as to be willing to take the suggestion that we permit the children of Russia to starve in order to save us from some imaginary "Bolshevist revolution" in some distant day. But it fills us with a sense of shame that a journal which boasts that it is "the world's greatest newspaper" should even hint at such a course so repugnant to all the finer instincts of humanity. If our civilization must be saved by our being willing to watch little children starve, it is hardly worth saving. Fortunately something yet of the Spirit of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," remains in the world. The love engendered in the hearts of millions of little children in Russia and elsewhere in Europe, who owe their lives to food sent from America, should quiet the fears of some of our alarmist friends, and prevent forever even the thoughtless hint that we would have done well to permit these children to starve.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, there is an article (page 394) by R. O. G. Urch, entitled "Bolshevism and Religion in Russia," which professes to give a description of what has happened to religion and the churches under the rule of the Soviets during the past five years. The author, Mr. Urch, is described editorially as "correspondent of the London *Times";* and his article is presented to readers as "written largely from first-hand knowledge." Now it happens that one part of this article (section IV, page 402) deals with an event of which we have somewhat more "first-hand knowledge" than Mr. Urch. We refer to the meeting of the Congress of the Living Church, which was held in August of 1922, in the city of Moscow, and marked a most important crisis in the religious history of Bolshevik Russia. We were present at this Congress —so far as we know, we were the only non-Russian present, with the exception of our guide and interpretor. What went on, of course, we saw with our

own eyes and heard with our own ears. This makes it possible for us to "check up" on Mr. Urch's story, and to note that in various and sundry points of central importance it is absolutely false. Mr. Urch, of course, is not trying to deceive his readers; he has simply been misinformed, and hastens to spread his misinformation far and wide. If this one section of the article, about which we happen to know, is any test, the whole article is unreliable. We have sent our protest and correction point by point to the editors of the *Atlantic,* and they have promised to give our communication space in the May issue. Meanwhile we would call attention to the importance of this experience. The *Atlantic Monthly,* which represents the highest standards of American journalism, took pains to describe Mr. Urch's article as "of great and terrible significance." We agree! It has the "great and terrible significance" of proving that, even in our best papers, little or nothing that is printed about Russia can be believed.

Women are funny! In the midst of the coldest and stormiest period of the season, in mid-February, they suddenly appear upon the streets in their new *straw* hats! Last winter, they went paddling through the snow and slush and mud of the gutters in dancing slippers—even rubbers were taboo; this winter they are all arrayed in over-shoes or Russian boots—a much more sensible style, but having nothing to do with sense, since dancing slippers will be back next year! Two years ago, skirts went up to the knees, and we heard much talk of the emancipation of women; now skirts are down around the ankles again, with long, queer streamers dangling in the mire. Yesterday, bobbed hair came in, and woman's chief glory fell easy victim to the barber's shears; today, bobbed hair is going out, and great is the excitement as locks are grown again. Years ago we saw our mother put her earrings away—forever; now earrings, of prodigious size and portentous length, are back again. In saying all this, we voice no prejudice against women. They are surely funny—but no funnier than men, as witness the way straw hats disappear on September 15th, which is not infrequently a day of broiling heat! The inanities of women are simply a little more conspicuous, that is all, especially when viewed against the background of the claims now being made for womanhood. We are all for recognition of these claims. We believe in equality for women all along the line. But we have never believed that women were going to save our poor old world all at once. They can't do worse than the men. But can they do any better? We doubt it! So long as women can be bamboozled and enslaved and exploited by the fashion-mongers, just so long will they be similarly fooled and controlled by profiteers, monopolists, and war-makers. Women—and men!—must rule themselves before they can hope to rule the world.

What is radio going to do to the churches? We know of no more fascinating question at this moment. It seems to be taken for granted that it will help the churches, and ministers are scrambling to install radios in their pulpits, so that their sermons may be "broadcasted" throughout the land. Think of preaching to a million people, instead of to a thousand or a hundred! Wonderful! Yes, wonderful indeed! But who are these people, and where are they? Why, obviously, they are people who are interested in religion and like sermons, else they would not be listening in. Just as obviously they are at home—in their libraries or sitting-rooms or beds—whereas, interested in religion and liking sermons, they might have been, or perhaps would have been, before the days of radio, in church. The radio brings the famous city preacher right into the home—so why get up and go out to hear the local preacher down the street? It looks to us as though the radio might conceivably complete the havoc begun so disastrously by the automobile. Already, it has had so marked an effect upon the theatres and vaudeville houses, that managers hire artists only on the express understanding, written into the terms of the contract, that the artists will not perform for the radio. Already it has so emptied the moving-picture palaces, that two and even three feature reels are put on a single program, to catch the crowds. Why should not the same effect make itself felt in the churches? We do not know how to answer the question—we are simply speculating. At bottom we feel certain that there is an indestructible magic in personality, and that the preacher will always have his audience, just as the spoken drama, for all the wonder of the movies, still manages to exist. But that the radio is bound to alter conditions enormously, is certain; and we see no reason why this alteration is necessarily going to be helpful to church services.

We were reading Upton Sinclair's new book, "The Goose Step," when Chancellor Day died, and we turned to the chapters on "The University of Heaven" (Syracuse University), and got some enlightenment on this notorious educator. Ugly and even disgusting as the story is, however, it is evident that Chancellor Day was unique only in certain peculiarly repulsive elements of personal character and habits, and that at bottom he was a typical example, if somewhat extreme, of the kind of men who are now steadily and swiftly rising to the headship of the institutions of higher learning in this country. It is an amazing story that Sinclair has to tell about what he calls "the interlocking directorates"—the dependence of our colleges and universities upon men of great wealth, and the resulting control of all educational processes and ideals by the most reactionary influences of society. Liberty of teaching seems practically to have disappeared. In-

numerable stories are told in the book, with names, dates and specifications, of the punishments suffered by men who have tried to teach some modern truth or serve some progressive interest. There is a libel suit on every page of "The Goose Step," if what the author tells us is false or even inaccurate. There were only two universities in the country, he says, which refused to yield to the war mania. These were Harvard and Chicago. Even in these institutions, however, the record is not clean. The University of Wisconsin, "the freest university in America," says Sinclair, nevertheless has its episodes of timidity, cowardice and repression. As for Princeton, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Columbia, the story of corruption, wire-pulling, persecution and moral treason, is almost too terrible for words. Upton Sinclair has written a book which will make even more of a sensation than "The Brass Check." It is lucky that Chancellor Day died when he did. Had he lived to see this volume, the shock would have killed him.

An Old "International League for Peace and Freedom"

A group of persons, called a "Central Committee," organized in May, 1869, to issue a Call for a Congress to be held the following September, in Switzerland. The object of the Congress was stated to be the inauguration of a plan for the formation of a federal Republic of all the peoples of Europe under the title the "United States of Europe." The plan suggested by the Committee included the following points:

I. The application of the federative republican system to the Constitution of the different European States and to their mutual relations.

II. The transformation of armies into national militia, with strict limitations to practical police service.

III. The separation of Church from State.

IV. The acknowledgement of the rights of women.

V. The solution of the social question by the development of the principle of property based on individual and co-operative labor; by the diffusion of education; by the liberty of association and by all proper means to establish equality among citizens.

This Central Committee called for local committees to act everywhere in furthering this movement. It called for an "international tribunal" to "apply the law of the United States of Europe and a power by which to insure its decisions." The Committee contended with earnestness that "the only means by which peace could be established in Europe" was this proposed "federation of its peoples in a United States." It declared that such a federation must "guarantee to each of the peoples which compose it, sovereignty and autonomy; individual liberty; rights of suffrage; liberty of press, of meeting and of forming societies; rights of conscience; rights of labor without interference; effective and individual responsibility of all the functionaries of the Executive order, and the nomination of all officers by universal suffrage."

The method advised for the carrying out of the preliminary matters of international organization were first, a group of twelve persons, eight of them to be chosen by the nationalities represented in the proposed September Congress, and four to be later chosen by these original eight, and preferably from countries not before represented. This permanent Committee of Twelve to sit continuously in Switzerland. Second, a bulletin in four languages to be circulated for information throughout the United States of Europe. And, third, other means than existed at that time for "internationalizing education."

We read that there were present at that September Congress of 1869, 658 persons who called themselves "adherents" of the plan. There were, besides these, 1010 persons who were called "visitors."

They would now be called "observers" probably!

Garibaldi sent a letter, as he was unable to be present, and it may be translated as follows:

> The conception of your work is so great a step in the path of progress that it does honor to the minds which have imagined it and which carry it forward with so much spirit. The International League for Peace and Freedom;—Liberty and the United States of Europe;—these combine the aspirations of the suffering people in pursuit of the ideal Humanity. With regard to yourself, Stefani (the Chairman of the Committee), convinced as I am of the grandeur of your idea I declare myself once again a soldier in your ranks and I solicit the co-operation of all those friends whom I have the happiness of possessing in the world.

The Initiating Committee was composed of representatives of "The International Workingmen's Association," "The Land Tenure Reform Association," "The National Woman's Suffrage Association of England," and other radical bodies.

It will be remembered that the years 1870 and 1871 were marked by the struggles between Germany and France; and that in September, 1873, the last installment of the indemnity being paid by the French government, the last Germans left France after the Franco-German War.

How small the seeming influence of that September Congress of 1869! One wonders if the "International Society" which was outlawed by the French government in 1872 could have been a fragment of the more permanent organization that resulted from that Congress. It is said that the successful "rebellion" alone becomes to history a "revolution." It is surely true that the only well-defined and well-known reform

movements are those that manage in some way to get themselves upon the statute books and pass from propaganda into law. This small effort of workingmen, and "women's rights women," passed, leaving hardly a trace behind. But like many another movement for progress it lost its life but to find it again in some later form of the same impulse which gave it birth. The member of that pioneer Committee for the United States was Moncure D. Conway. He spoke with enthusiasm of the ideal of the United States of Europe in a succession of peace addresses he gave in England and in America. His work passed from organized institutions and religious groupings long ago. His radical and spiritual teaching most now forget. But the idea of the United States of Europe is reviving. It has no definite grounding in that far-away attempt of a few reformers in Switzerland. But the home of the "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" is in Geneva. The League of Nations sits in Europe. The World Court has begun to function; and the "solution of the social question" is now being actively worked for by many an international organization.

How small the contribution of any one of us to the great onward march of the human race! How precious the evidence that that march began so long ago and is assured by "all the forces that draw the ages on."

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

A Visit to Essen

Editorial Correspondence.

The director of the Child Feeding Organization in Germany asked me if I would not like to visit Essen, to see how the French invasion was affecting, not coal nor bensol, but the children. Partly for that, and partly because it is natural for people to run to a fire, I found myself early Sunday morning in Essen. The trip from Berlin with sleeper, cost me less than a dollar.

There was nothing out of the ordinary in sight, except the passing of occasional squads of French soldiers, or the patroling of some public building by two or three of the blue coats, carrying guns with bayonets. In front of the big building, for example, holding the offices of the mining syndicate were three specially alert and prancing soldiers. The 1,000 employers had, however, vamoosed for the neighboring city of Hamburg—carrying with them their precious books. It was like the flight of a capitol—in this case the flight of capital. The whole surroundings of this particular bit of patroling were suggestive. They were walking up and down Frau Bertha Krupp Strasse, and over an adjacent wall was an ancient graveyard, reminding me that the paths of glory lead to the grave.

I discovered that two floors of my hotel had been commandeered by French officers. I was told that while they paid for their meals, they didn't for their rooms. The porter was lamenting that he had lost 2,000 marks every day, by failing to receive the gratuities that otherwise would come from travelers occupying the rooms. The leading hotel, the Kaiserhof, was commandeered—the whole of it. The correspondent of a great London daily told me that he was foolish to leave on order; and said he admired the ten American correspondents who got their backs up and refused to budge.

I cannot withhold my disgust at the military occupation. The man on horseback, the salutes, the demand for salutes, the shallowness and buffoonery and general tomfoolery of certain individuals with good clothes, that a benevolent people have paid for, and with guards and bayonets that only a cowardly system would dare employ upon a defenseless citizenry, reminded me at times of a lot of boys; and yet here may start a conflagration that will fill Europe again with hell. Yet I am now writing in the Kaiserhof, in the midst of Frenchmen who are quiet and gentlemanly, and as responsible for what may come to pass as the quiet and gentlemanly persons who sat at Versailles and framed a covenant of hell, which they piously named a Treaty. That document Germany ought never to have signed.

When I took an early luncheon, there sat opposite a young German, who was evidently moved by the news of the paper he was reading. I asked him if he spoke English. He replied, "a little." Thereupon we started an acquaintance which proved to be very fortunate for me. He was for several years a soldier until taken prisoner by America. He was not released until 1919. During that time his father—a school master—died of a broken heart. He proved to be a mining engineer, and knew Essen intimately. He took me out to Krupp's huge works, taking three-quarters of an hour to walk around. Later he invited me to his home and introduced me to his mother—a dear, sweet-faced lady—and his two sisters, one a social worker and the other in business.

I had been asked to look up an old lady and see how the invasion had affected her. I found her in a big house (woe to those who live in big houses in the days of revolution and invasion!) and she was fearful lest she would have to move up into the garret. As to her health, she said, "Tell Mr. Gramm that I am the same; only a little weaker and a little sadder." This thing of commandeering private homes by invading soldiers is certainly the acme of brutality. Here was the old lady, living in the rooms made sacred by life-long associations; then at a few hours' notice she may be told to vamoose. That some curl up and die, I do not wonder. I may say here that I have not seen many old people in Germany.

A London correspondent who has covered the occupied district several years for his beat told me that practically all the best houses were taken by officers; even in cities like Cologne and Coblenz by French, English and American. The officers took the best and were their own judges as to what were best. I can hardly conceive of a worse example of bad manners and brutality, and to speak of Christian courtesy in the same half hour is nauseous. Coal and petroleum are important, but what about children and old folks, whom invaders seem to ignore?

I saw a pile of school benches that had been stacked up in the school yard. The benches were made for short legs. French soldiers had occupied the school-

house, driving the children out, and had stacked the benches out-doors. Such action, of course, interferes with feeding and education. But what are these in the building of Empire?

When I told the correspondent of the London *Times* that I had come to Essen partly to discover how the French invasion was affecting the child feeding work, he said, "Really, that's interesting—I'd like to talk to you about it." We were both busy at the time, but I hope to bring him in touch with Paula Kurgass, who has charge of the feeding in the Rhineland provinces. Even these wide-awake correspondents, in the observation of politicians, bankers and soldiers, are apt to overlook the little children who suffer. Miss Kurgass said that the invasion had not yet affected Essen much. Milk was scarce anyway. I suggested the use of canned milk. She said, "Yes, that is good, but there is not money enough." I gathered that it would be impossible to get provisions for the children—by importation—if there were money enough. At present, in the supplementary meal furnished in Essen (all under the supervision of the Central Committee in Berlin, Hanns Gramm, Director, Dorotheenstr. 2) now consists of six biscuits only. A dozen social workers tell me that the coming months will be very severe for the old and young.

I watched a company of French soldiers from my hotel window, and I wondered what was going on in their heads. I can't believe that they like the job—that of collecting debts at the point of bayonets—while the fat profiteers sit on cushioned chairs in soft places. I felt a deep pity for them; for are they not all slaves? As a young German said to me: "I would not exchange places, for though I may be poor, I am free, free from conscription. If the little call-card should come again—as before the war—I would not respond." What evil effects such a group of invading soldiers leave behind. I saw angry looks. I saw little boys and girls who had never seen a Frenchman before stare at the little men in blue, carrying long guns. In the midst of all this was a pleasant scene. A Quaker worker passed along. On her sleeve being the star, some children saw it, and began to smile and clap their hands. I thought of the words, "When they saw the star, they rejoiced." But other children, when they see the bayonets, will make Hannibal vows that France must be destroyed.

An intelligent correspondent told me that a couple of weeks previous to the invasion thousands of secret service men and women came into the Ruhr District and laid out the plan of invasion, as in time of war. When the troops arrived, these secret men were stationed at every marked position to guide the advance and for placing machine guns, and there was not a blunder. The secret service women had located the dangerous agitators, the residences for occupation, and again here there was no blunder. Invasion—in times of peace—has thus been reduced to a science.

The Monday after my return from Essen to Berlin I carried with me three definite impressions. I thought of the little children who would cry for milk, because armed men and armored cars must engage in the mad sport of destruction. Of those who do this evil thing, "better a mill-stone were hung about his neck" etc. I thought also of a three hours' conversation I had with one of the labor leaders in Krupp's—in fact, he serves on the Shop Committee. We talked in his house, on the fourth floor. He said, that Germany must suffer much, but the new Christ might be born in her after much travail. He saw no hope in the organized church or organized education. They were dependent upon capitalism and would serve their master. He thought there were three possibilities in the present situation: the German Government may become socialist; Poincare may fall; the average French soldier may get tired acting as slave driver. He also had great hope in the youth movement. I carried with me also the view I had from the hotel window in Essen. I saw all the factors of explosion. Quick stepping French soldiers, orderly German police, on foot or horse, acting in obedience to military authority, curious and angry glances from citizens, little boys and girls gazing with wondering eyes—all signs of a coming storm! All so insane—and in the background the starving children and suffering invalids.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Why Not Outlaw War?

Readers of Mr. Lansing's account of diplomacy at Versailles will recollect one conflict of principles which may be disentangled from its accompanying personal complications. Mr. Lansing stood for a legal approach and settlement; Mr. Wilson for a political method and solution. Independently of the fact that both of them neglected the economic phase of the situation, and apart from the wisdom of special legal and political measures to which each was committed, there is a genuine problem behind such a difference of attitude. Politics and law are closely tied together; they cannot ultimately be severed. But as methods of approach to a social situation they may be as far apart as the poles.

From the standpoint of the tactics of propaganda, the advocates of American participation in the League of Nations have so far had the advantage. An already formulated political policy was in the field and there was no alternative of legal method before the world. This condition of affairs was corrected when Senator Borah introduced his resolution committing the United States to the outlawry of war, through a revision of international law and provision for an international court. Aside from its tremendous general importance, the proposal has a special interest for readers of this journal; the idea of outlawry of war first saw the light of day in the *New Republic* for March 9, 1918, in an article by Mr. Levinson of Chicago.

Senator Borah's proposition is one which advocates of the League of Nations should favor. They may not think it goes far enough, but they can hardly deny that whether with a League or without one, it presents an indispensable measure of international co-operation. Since the main hold of the League idea upon the American people lies in a belief or at least a hope that somehow it will help end war, only the inconsistency born of partisanship will prevent the pro-Leaguers from rallying to its support. At the same time, the provisions of the resolution are so independent of the notion of a League that they help us in drawing a contrast between the political and the judicial methods of dealing with international disputes.

As some of us see the matter, the political approach

to the abolition of war is hopeless—at least at the present time. For it falls back upon and relies upon exactly the same forces that in the past have produced wars. The unified organization and mutual co-operation of allied nations during the war created an illusion of real unity to which many fell victims, myself among the number. For those who thought that there really was such a unity in existence, no question was more natural than to ask: Why not maintain, why not carry over into peace this same unity of interest and effort? Why not utilize, with some necessary changes, the mechanism of administration that unified action during the war, to unify policies after the war? If co-operation was required to win the war, the same kind of co-operation is needed to maintain peace and put an end to war. Of course thoughtful people saw the difficulty, theoretically not insuperable, which lay in bringing into this organization the allied nations on the other side. But post-war conditions have made it clear that the problem with respect to former foes is only a special instance of the insuperable difficulty that existed among the Allies themselves. The conditions of war time merely covered up for the time being vast historically rooted antagonisms of policy which, as soon as the pressure of war was removed, inevitably came to the surface.

There have been plenty of preachments that the Allies should maintain war unity in peace time, plenty of lamentations that they have not done so. But all of them were words, words. The older conflicts remained, not only in all their ancient force but actually increased by the war. For there was effected a hegemony of France on the continent which is almost as Napoleonic as that against which Great Britain waged long war, and which is contrary to her whole political tradition. The old balance of power was shattered. Economic exhaustion and the necessity of recuperation sharpened the older competition of interests, and the questions of how to distribute reparations afforded standing occasions of friction. The only practicable way to have carried wartime unity over into time of peace would have been a voluntary continuation of that subordination of other nations to France which was a military and geographical necessity in war time. Here, there is some act of France to be regretted; there, some act of England, and so on. But everything that has occurred and is occuring in Europe is simply a manifestation of forces that go back for centuries in the history of Europe. They are not special acts to be deplored; they are symptoms of forces to be understood.

When certain means have proved that they lead to conflict and friction, it is the part of elementary prudence to seek other means which will cut under or go around the forces that cause the trouble. Only stupendous thoughtlessness will assume that if we whip up these same means into increased energy or manipulate them in some mechanical way, they will suddenly begin to operate for totally different ends. The political case is summed up in the fact that it assumes and rests upon the legality of war as the ultimate method of settling disputes. It is no accident that the Constitution of the League of Nations definitely contemplates and even prescribes coercive physical force, economic and military, as the final sanction for making its will prevail. In doing so, it is only running true to political form. The fact that in effect the exercise of this force is not lodged in the League as a whole but in the five chief nations among the victorious Allies is again a necessity if the question is approached in terms of politics. A world which legitimizes recourse to war will always be on the verge of war.

What are the alternatives? One is complete reorganization of the world, especially upon the economic side. There are those who say that war will not cease till its "causes" are eliminated. Since these causes are mainly or wholly economic and industrial, it is then argued that radical transformation of our system of industry and commerce is the only way to avert the constant menace of war.

Even its most ardent advocates must admit, however, that this method is remote in attainment. Its more logical adherents even insist that a long period of civil strife as well as of foreign "capitalistic" wars must precede its attainment. For the present, accordingly, it is only a counsel of despair and do-nothing. There remains one other method: that of the courts, of law and judicial procedure. There is some reason to share the current depreciation of legal systems and concepts. But only the blindly sceptical will allow their aversion to certain methods of law as it now is to prevent their seeing that, in human history, law is the sole alternative to resort to force, individual and collective, as a method for arranging disputes due to conflict of interests.

There is at least one objection which advocates of a League of Nations cannot make against Borah's resolution. They cannot argue that it is impracticable and impossible. If nations will not carry their willingness to co-operate to the negative and formal point of outlawing war and the positive point of providing an international supreme court, it is ridiculous to suppose that they will go to the extreme required for constructive political co-operation. If they can come to no agreement when meeting under no pressure of threatened crisis, and under cold and formal auspices of legality, they will surely not agree when a crisis is actually at hand and the air is tense with fear, suspicion and cupidity. To the confirmed sceptic and cynic there is no conclusive answer. But everyone else will be moved by the fact that the experience of mankind for thousands of years has found no other way of peaceful settlement of disputes than the way of courts and law. Everyone can see at a glance that while at some period of history personal disputes were left for the parties concerned to settle by combat, mankind with all its blindness and stupidity has already reached a point where everything but international dispute has been removed from the arbitrament of armed force. We are not appealing to some abstract law of evolution but to the collective experience of all mankind throughout the ages when we assert that an international court based on carefully codified law that makes war a crime, having as full jurisdiction in cases of honor as in other cases, is the sole practicable road to the goal which every day is seen the more clearly to be one with the preservation of civilization itself.

Law is proverbially formal and unemotional and in such a vein I have written. Since it is an insult to readers to dwell further upon the horrors, dangers and crimes of war, there remains but one question: the method of preventing it. The political method has failed: it fosters war. Sentiment, Christianity, religion, moral ideals have failed. There is one way which has not been tried; that is the simplest way and the way backed by the experience of humanity in all similar cases. One should deny oneself any attempt to arouse

enthusiasm and procure adherents for this method, by asserting, what so many idealists have claimed for their panaceas, that it would forever eliminate the chances of war. Law has not put an end to disputes in other fields; it will hardly do so in the international field. Criminal law has not prevented crimes. I should hesitate to claim that the outlawry of war will absolutely ensure us against the crime of war. But law does afford a peaceful mode of settling disputes that otherwise lead disputants to personal and private war in order to maintain their claims. And war outlawed, branded as a crime, is a totally different thing from war which is legitimate—and as things now stand the only legitimate ultimate recourse. There is some discussion, for example, about the legality of present French action in the Ruhr. But only a few persons recognize that if France declares war against Germany her every act at once becomes unquestionably legal. French declaration of war might be immoral; it might be inexpedient. But it would be legal, and all the acts that flowed from a state of war would be legitimized by the law of nations and by national law.

What is the use of talking about ending war as long as this state of things remains? What is the hope of abolishing it if we assume in advance that outlawry by the common consent of nations is impracticable? Fortunately, so far as this country is concerned, there is already enlisted in behalf of Senator Borah's proposition a much larger and more solid body of support than most persons dream of. Scores and scores of societies have already petitioned in favor of this action; hundreds of public meetings have endorsed it by resolutions. Those who call it fantastic have little real conception of public opinion in this country. And if after this country has got solidly behind the movement, Europe remains cold and indifferent, what has become of our alleged influence and moral leadership of the world? If the moral belief of the world cannot crystallize into simple law, the law of a court, then everything is hopeless and there remains nothing but to watch civilization go down to destruction or wait for some accident to save it. In language of prudence and moderation, the resolution of Senator Borah offers to the world a supreme test of its intelligence and of the sincerity of its protestations in behalf of peace. But the challenge, the test, the trial, comes first of all to the American people.

The New Republic, March 21. —*John Dewey.*

The Outlawry of War

When toward the close of the last session of Congress Senator Borah introduced his resolution for the outlawing of war there was too much excitement about other matters to appreciate the extraordinary interest of his proposal. At a first hearing it seems almost simple-minded to suppose that anything can be accomplished by declaring that war is illegal. It seems to most people like passing a resolution against snowstorms in March.

But Senator Borah is not in the habit of making ridiculous suggestions, and Mr. John Dewey, who has publicly come out in support of the plan, is perhaps the least likely of all living philosophers to be taken in by a patent-medicine formula. The time has come to realize that the proposal to outlaw war is seriously meant, seriously thought out and seriously backed. Let us look, therefore, at the exact terms of Senator Borah's resolution:

> Resolved, That it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies by making it a public crime under the law of nations, and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war-breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress under Article I, section 8, of our Federal Constitution, which clothes the Congress with the power "to define and punish offenses against the law of nations."

What this resolution proposes is that the United States Government shall invite the nations of the world to declare that war is a crime. Such an invitation, if it were taken seriously, would be very hard to refuse because to refuse it would be to declare in favor of war as a permanent institution. It would be very difficult to refuse because such an outlawry of war would no more preclude self-defense in case of invasion than the outlawry of murder precludes self-defense in case of assault. The issue could not be evaded, then, by insisting on the right of self-defense. All that would be required would be a declaration by each nation that it regards the making of war by other nations, or by itself, as a public crime in international law.

If such a declaration could ever be got from the nations of the world—and, of course, the difficulty is to get it when nations understand what it implies—the legal and moral advantages of the military party in all countries would be destroyed. Today they are strictly orthodox under the law of nations. The peacemakers are the heretics. Senator Borah's plan would completely reverse this position. Under it the law would be on the side of the pacifist, and with it all the moral, patriotic and emotional support that comes from being on the side which is upholding the law.

Senator Borah's plan would, if carried out, break up the association which now exists between patriotism and militarism. It would make pacifism under the law the patriotic attitude, and militarism the unpatriotic.

When you have said that much, you have said enough to show that this proposal has teeth in it. It can be rejected as impossible to accomplish. It can be rejected as undesirable to accomplish. But it cannot be dismissed as negligible. It will compel, and it deserves to compel, profound consideration.

The World is not ready to indorse the plan, because a great many questions involved in it are far from clear. But on one aspect of the matter we have no doubts. This proposal by no stretch of the imagination is in conflict with the plan of the World Court or of the League of Nations. Unfortunately there are opponents of both who are supporting the Borah resolution as an alternative to the court and the League.

It is not an alternative. The court and the League are machinery for adjusting disputes. The proposal to outlaw war is a piece of legislation to revise international law. The court, as the agency for deciding disputes in accordance with international law, would find its powers greater and its jurisdiction widened if the proposal were adopted. The League, in a world where war had been outlawed, would be even more firmly founded than it is today.

The proof of this, if any is needed, lies in the fact that Mr. Borah's resolution provides for a World

Court; in the fact that Mr. John Bassett Moore, who now sits on the World Court, has himself approved the principle of the Borah resolution. Only partisanship and political intrigue can therefore make it appear that there is any conflict in theory or in fact between the three parallel, and as we believe interdependent, plans for world peace—the plan to outlaw war, the plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice and the plan for a League of Nations.

—*The World, March* 18, 1923.

Where Shall China Look for Help?

At the present moment, the entire Western world, so far as we in China can judge from the papers and from the letters of friends, is in a ferment. Never in the memory of the present writer has there been a time when the reactionary forces of the world seemed more bent on having their own way without regard to the consequences to humanity, or when the spirit of lawless, godless immorality was more uncontrolled. This seems to surprise some of our friends, but we personally confess that we would be surprised if it were otherwise. Why should we think that we can train men to flaunt all the laws of God and man for four long years, and then suddenly have them reverence and respect them again when that period is over? If it is right in war time to abrogate the whole moral code and to make a virtue of lying, deceiving, stealing, and murdering if only the victim be one's enemy, then can it be that these things are always wrong in time of peace? If we could dispense with reverence of personality on the battle fields of France, why should it bother us over much now?

In China our situation is different, and yet in it there are many of the same elements which are showing themselves in the West. Life is not without its "spice" for the touring evangelist in Shantung and neighboring provinces, especially if one happens to be an internationalist and a pacifist. For the past four months (one might honestly say "four years") banditry has been very bad all through this section of China. On all of our recent trips to country stations and their outlying fields, we have, as it were, been playing "Hide and Go Seek" with bandit forces, sometimes large, sometimes small, but always cruel and vicious. For weeks at a time, our hospital here in the central station has been full to overflowing with wounded and mutilated men, some soldiers, others bandits. Fighting has at times been close enough to our compound so that we could hear the firing of the guns. A Chinese pastor recently told the writer that more than half of the bandits in his section are opium addicts who seek funds to make possible further indulgence in that habit which more than any other destroys the image of God in man. Most of them are also ex-soldiers. They have been systematically trained by the government in the art of taking life, following our Western example. The training has had its logical effect, destroying most of what was good in their own characters, and leading them to look lightly upon all human life. Now that the government has relieved them of their jobs, without in many cases giving them the money due them, they still pursue their old trade, taking human life and destroying property, only without military sanction and supervision. It often happens that when groups of bandits meet with the soldiers sent to suppress them, the two make friends, money passes between them, and then the bandits go on their way rejoicing and the military ditto. In some sections, missionaries have been taken into captivity and held for high ransom; but so far the writer has escaped such an experience. Doubtless some one will ask why it is that such things are not checked by the government. The answer is, that as yet China has not developed public spirited citizens who care to serve their country for other than their own interests. She has a few great men, who would give their all if only some order and peace could be brought out of the present chaos. Also in her great student body there is a progressive movement which if rightly guided may some day be the salvation of the nation. But taking the country as a whole, political office is not looked upon as an opportunity for public service, but for personal profit and aggrandizement. We think of political life as rotten in America, and it is; so much so, that at times it makes one tremble for the future of our Republic. But when all has been said, it is much cleaner than in China. In the West, we have developed at least the rudiments of a social conscience. There *are* occasions when public opinion cannot be ignored. The people no longer entirely ignore rottenness in public officials. If such men wish to retain their places, they must at least make a show of being honest and disinterested in motive. In China more than in the West, office is still a political plum, and neither the fitness of the candidate nor the wish of the people seems to have much influence in the decisions made. For example, recently when a new Minister of Education was elected by the Parliament then sitting in Peking, a politician with no proper educational qualifications was the successful candidate, and that, in spite of repeated protests from the students of Peking, and from the heads of a number of the government schools. In two or three cases, principals resigned their schools by way of protest; but Parliament went quietly ahead and elected the politician slated for the place.

The whole bandit problem is doubly difficult because the country is so completely in the control of a group of militarists, some of whom are themselves little better than bandits. A news item in the daily paper just come to hand is enlightening. It reads:

> Peking, Feb. 17.—Although many members of the Cabinet and other officials are away on holiday (China New Year), yet everyone has not been idle, for an important move toward reunification is reported.
>
> As a preliminary to this end a discussion is proceeding between the four great Northern militarists, namely Generals Tsao Kun, Wu Pei Fu, Chi Hsieh-yuan, and Lu Yung-hsiang. Their plan is said to be to come to written agreement among themselves, and then to unite with the southern leaders such as Dr. Sun Yat-sen and General Tsen Chun-hsuan through the mediation of the Premier, General Chang Shou-tseng. It thus seems as though a practical scheme for unification was in sight.
>
> The only obstacle at present is the attitude of General Chang Tso-lin. It is reported that the Premier intends to bring him into the movement.

One who reads between the lines, sees in this brief item an epitome of the tragedy of present day China, —a peace loving, law abiding people ground under the heel of an insolent, lawless militarism. Chinese politicians are too busy catering to the militarists to have any time to plan employment for ex-soldiers and others in need. They are spending too many millions

of borrowed money in financing their military machine to have any left for the constructive tasks of peace. Because the militarists are the power behind every move in the present government of China, there is no peace and the people perish for lack of the common necessities of life which these militarists waste with reckless hand in their constantly recurring struggles.

As one broods over the situation, there comes a great longing, an unspoken prayer, that China might have a Savior to lead her people out of bondage, that she might be spared further suffering at the hands of her tyrants. But to whom can she look for encouragement and for help? The Western nations in the light of their greater knowledge and opportunity are more to be condemned than China. All Europe seems about to plunge once more into the hell of war. The situation between France and Germany in connection with the Ruhr is such that it makes one ashamed to have the Chinese know that the people of these countries profess the same religion (if it is the same) which we have come to teach. In America, with the present revival of bigotry, race prejudice, and rabid nationalism, the situation is little better. One reading in the *Literary Digest* of January 20th of the "Brisk Start of the 1923 Lynchings"—three in the first week of the New Year—wonders why the American people were so shocked at the reported German atrocities in Belgium. Our *peace time* atrocities, 3,436 lynchings in the United States from 1889 through the year 1921 (see UNITY for Nov. 9, 1922, p. 119) seem to the writer far more serious than the *war-time* atrocities in Belgium.

Perhaps someone is thinking, Why does not China look to the Christian Church for guidance into the ways of peace? We are among those who believe tremendously in the value of the Christian service which the Church is doing in the Orient. We believe that this service is a valuable element in making for understanding between the East and the West. But when this has been said, we must confess that as yet, as far as we can see, the Church has no clear guidance to give anyone in connection with the war problem. The attitude of the majority of her leaders is profoundly depressing. If we could only forget the days before 1914, and then our experiences in the Church in war-time, and then further fail to read between the lines of present day utterances, perhaps we would be encouraged. The progressives in the Church have again "climbed back on to the band wagon" and are telling us in season and out of season of the inhuman, barbarous, un-Christian character of war. But with almost one consent, they fail to confess the terrible mistake of the Church in becoming a mere adjunct of the fighting machines of the nations in the prosecution of the recent struggle in Europe. In spite of all the disillusionment of the past four years, Christian leaders, judging by what they leave unsaid, are still unconvinced that it might be wise for the Church to come out frankly before the world as against the whole military method, and as the champion of the new and better way which their own gospel teaches. Neither does there seem to be any consciousness that only a frank confession of sin will ever put the Church of Christ in such a position that she can speak with authority and influence as the advocate of the better way.

To whom then can we look with hope? Is not the answer obvious? Has not God a Remnant in every land, and among the people of every faith, of those who have been born into the Universal Brotherhood of world wide love and service? Many years before Christ, the prophet Isaiah wrote, "Though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return; a destruction is determined, overflowing with righteousness." Many in the Church are fond of speaking of that institution as "The Israel of God." If we accept the term for the moment, we must confess that Israel has again been carried away into captivity,—this time by our modern Assyrians—the capitalists, the militarists, the apologists for the present order. And surely it does not take a prophet to see that "A destruction is determined, overflowing with righteousness." To all intents and purposes, Western civilization is engaged in committing suicide. Only a miracle can prevent this end. But in the midst of the present chaos, there is emerging God's Remnant of those who have not been untrue to the vision of the Holy City, who have steadfastly refused to sacrifice unity with their brothers of all nations and races, at the call of lesser loyalties. Even in the darkness of the present hour, there shines the light of a brotherhood which is coming more and more to a sense of solidarity through its common work and suffering for the great cause of world unity in love. When the final collapse comes, this Remnant, which alone can carry over to the new age the true seed of the Kingdom, will be found to consist of those of all nations and of all religions who have really learned that God is Love, and that Love is the only foundation for any true life among men who are God's children. In that day, when the strong shall have learned the weakness of their might, "The meek shall inherit the earth," and shall lead the way to the building of the Kingdom of God among men.

Lintsing, Shantung, China. R. B. WHITAKER.

RUSSIA.

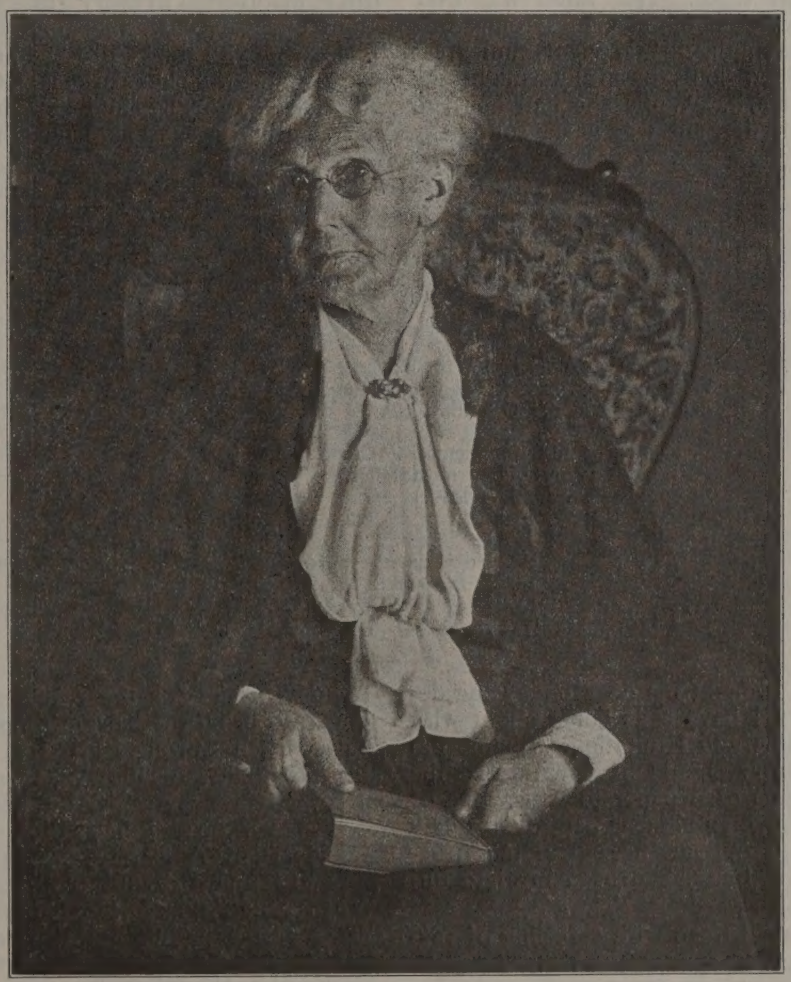
Awakener of slavery's just scorn,
The herald of an age that is to be,
The shining hope of earth's futurity;
Scarce yet aroused in the bright'ning morn
Of thy full day—'tis but the starlit dawn.
Thy travail is the birth of liberty
Thy cradle is the new humanity,—
Colossus of a race as yet unborn.

Nor rights of men or rule of soviet—
Amid the sudden sovereignty of things—
Can yet avail if thou too quick forget
Tradition and the dignity of kings.
Have faith: for thy deliverance is near;
Soon in the east will thy White Christ appear.

BENJAMIN COLLINS WOODBURY.

Anna Lloyd Wright

Anna Lloyd Wright belonged to the fast vanishing line of pioneers. The last surviving sister of the late Editor of UNITY, she was one of the growing family of children whom their parents, lured by the democracy which beckoned so many in those early days, brought to this country hoping for a larger freedom and greater privileges. Her long life of eighty-four years came to a close on February 10th at the Waldheim Sanitarium in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, where for the last few months she had been receiving care and treatment.



She knew the joys and privations of pioneer life when Wisconsin was still a territory, and her whole being seemed to partake of that rugged strength which we associate with those who have faced and overcome obstacles, thought clearly and felt deeply.

Anna Lloyd Wright lived almost half of her eighty-four years in Oak Park and bore a prominent part in the social and intellectual life of the community. As a friend writes of her in "Oak Leaves": "She possessed qualities of real leadership. Intellectually keen, independently critical but deeply appreciative of the best in literature, music, art and nature, painstaking and uncompromising in the search for truth, she found rare joy in sharing with others the treasures she found in books, in pictures, in melody, and in her beloved out-of-doors. Many an Oak Park woman active in all good works looks back to the Emerson and Browning classes led by Madame Wright as the source of her inspiration to seek truth and beauty and to serve her fellows. This in itself is no small gift for one woman to have bestowed on her home community.

"Madame Wright's love of nature, deep-rooted and sincere, had in it that intelligently sympathetic quality that seemed to woo Nature's very secrets from bird and tree and blossom. Burroughs was, of course, one of her favorite authors, and his eastern publishers a few years ago gave very distinguished recognition to her as a student of Nature and of this particular one of Nature's biographers.

"Her papers presented before the Nineteenth Century Club are memorable and always drew large audiences; for it was recognized that members could not afford to miss the carefully prepared, scholarly, and inspiring work which she always gave to her beloved club.

"Her life was a busy one always, and she found joyous reward for her early toil and sacrifice in the distinguished recognition which her talented children won later in the world of art. She never failed them! Only a few years ago, when she was past eighty, word came that her son, seriously ill in far-off Japan, wanted her, and despite the anxious counsels of family and friends, she set out at once with a companion on the long journey, was with her son through his convalescence, received many honors from his distinguished Japanese friends, and returned, as she expressed it, 'with a new lease on life,' to refute triumphantly all gloomy prophecies.

"Sorrow laid a heavy hand on her life more than once, and nothing is more outstanding in Madame Wright's character than a certain gallant courage with which she met face-to-face and unafraid, the tragedies that would have crushed a weaker soul.

"On Monday afternoon, February 12th, in the chapel at Hillside, the old home, near Spring Green, Wis., made beautiful by pine boughs and lovely spring flowers, the farewell words were spoken by Dr. Hunt of Madison, assisted by Rev. M. Schilling of Spring Green. Mrs. Iltis of Madison sang Madame Wright's favorite hymns, and then, surrounded by loving friends and neighbors, and borne by her nephews and one of her grandsons, she was laid to rest under the tall, dark pines she loved, while great snowflakes fell and gently covered the fresh mound with a fleecy white mantle."

Dr. Hunt gave the early history of Anna Lloyd Wright from the time when as a child of five years, she, with her parents, crossed the seas from Wales and settled first at Ixonia, Wisconsin, and later in the beautiful Wisconsin River Valley. She was one of eleven children, all of whom possessed keen and active minds. One of them was Jenkin Lloyd Jones so well known, and two were Jane and Ellen, sisters, who twenty years ago started the Hillside Home School, the ideals of which are today identical with those of

progressive education all over our country. Anna also taught school until she married the Rev. William C. Wright, a Baptist Minister. Dr. Hunt said further:

"Mrs. Wright was one who loved beauty wherever she found it. She came of a sturdy Welsh stock which broke upward through the crust of the ordinary conventions of life into a freer air and a loftier vision than is given to many. Her love of things beautiful manifested itself all along her journey of life. She loved the truth, hated all shams and make-believe, and was possessed of deep curiosity and enthusiasm for the undiscovered realms of truth. Her mind was ever open to the light wherever it might come from. She had depths of inner strength, mental vigor, and great courage, so that troubled souls naturally sought the help of her vigorous spirit. While she had her full share of the sorrows of life, she was never soured by her external limitations nor embittered by them. She was mistress of her own spirit and carried her burdens and the burdens of others with a glad song that knew no defeat.

"Hers was a faith in the God of everlasting reality, and her life was the channel of the divine life flowing through her into others. A progressive in her habits of thought she felt, ahead of the crowd, the great change in modern conceptions of God. She rested in the thought of the great Over-soul, the immanent God in whom we live and move and have our being, whose life is manifested in every grass blade and flower petal, atom and molecule, the Infinite and Eternal energy from whom all things proceed and by whom all things are sustained. The world is better for the life which she lived so loyally, and her children are rich in the heritage which she has bequeathed them."

THE LAST INVOCATION.

At the last, tenderly,
From the walls of the powerful fortress'd house,
From the clasp of the knitted locks, from the keep of the well-closed doors,
Let me be wafted.

Let me glide noiselessly forth;
With the key of softness unlock the locks—with a whisper,
Set ope the doors O soul.

Tenderly—be not impatient,
(Strong is your hold O mortal flesh,
Strong is your hold O love.)

—Walt Whitman.

The Shame and the Glory of It

Ever since the mail brought me on Monday the detained issues of UNITY I have been going about with mixed feelings of shame and exultation. Shame because my beloved country should have witnessed the exclusion from the mails of a paper to which one of her noblest and most devoted citizens had given thirty years of unrequited toil and sacrifice. Exultation because he, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, had been loyal to humanity to the end.

I have read and re-read them with a feeling of reverence. These are sacred pages. Into them went the very heart's blood of a brave lover of men and of women. His physical courage he proved upon the battle field during three long and weary years. Thereafter for more than half a century he proved his spiritual courage on the front line of the battle for humanity under the banner of Love. Here he never faltered. He never said, "Come on," but always was calling up stragglers from the rear. His clarion voice was always heard high above all the tumult raised by hate and greed. A Sir Galahad, "whose strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure"! I can see him now standing in that crowded little station on the German frontier speaking after the German Lieutenant had expressed the hope that the Ford Peace Party might be successful. I would not attempt to quote those words of magic beauty which lifted us all above the place of earthly vanities into the realm of the peace of God. How tenderly he spoke of those invisible ties which bound us all to many different earthly fatherlands and of the ties which bound us together as sons and daughters of a common family. Then he spoke for the real heart of America which longed to bring the balsam of peace to the wounds of war-stricken Europe. I felt as he spoke that he was the incarnation of the America for which we ought all to give the best that we had.

He never forsook a position of danger. Whenever the ideals of America were in danger he sprang at once to his post of duty and raised the cry of alarm. When Jane Addams urged him to go with the Ford Peace Party he uttered this most characteristic remark, "They are throwing stones in that direction; I guess I belong there."

Oh, the shame and pity of it, that this lover and defender of his country should have had his last days clouded with the petty persecution of those intoxicated with a brief possession of power. Some day, perhaps, those who were responsible for this will see how cruel and mean it was. But of this we may be assured that in his noble heart there was no bitterness, that he would be the first to greet them by the throne. He was never discouraged, he never lost his faith. The verse he so often quoted from Washington Gladden's hymn was his very own:

And fierce though the fiends may fight,
And long though the angels hide,
I know that truth and right
Have the universe on their side.

Great Heart, Noble Heart, Gentle Heart, we love and honor thee! And we pray that we may be true unto the end to the great task that thou has committed unto us, that we, as thou, mayest ever be at the forefront of the battle under the Banner of Love.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A HOME AT THE IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY FOR COLORED GIRLS.

The Iowa Federation of Colored Women's Clubs is making a desperate effort to meet the payments on a home for colored girls at the State University in Iowa City. They have bought a very suitable nine-room house. The price was $5300. They have paid on this $2000. They owe in addition to the balance of $3000 about $533 for interest, taxes and repairs.

This project has the hearty support of the Dean of Men, the Dean of Women and President Jessup of the University. It is almost if not quite impossible for these girls to obtain suitable rooming places if this home is not retained. The colored people of the state are doing their very best. Mrs. Johnson, president of the Federation, is making heroic efforts to raise the money. It cannot be done without the help of white friends. The girls in the home are all doing something to earn their way through college.

I think that there must be a goodly number among the readers of UNITY who will be glad to give these girls, who are working so hard, a chance to obtain their education. I shall be glad to receive any contributions for this purpose.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY,
Minister of the First Unitarian Church, Iowa City, Iowa.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE

Friday Morning Forum.

The month of April will be dedicated to youth and poetry. On the 4th the subject will be "The Awakening of Youth." Four members of the National Student Forum will bring an inspiring message:

George D. Pratt, Jr.,
Joachim Friedrich of Heidelberg,
Antonin Palicek of Prague, and
William Robson of the London School of Economics.

Later in the month we will have the pleasure of listening to Jessie Rittenhouse and Florence Kiper Frank read their own poems.

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORD HALL FORUM.

On February 28, 1923, occurred a notable birthday—that of the Ford Hall Forum which is just fifteen years old!

In 1908 Mr. George W. Coleman who was at that time chairman of the Baptist Social Union wanted to try out a new type of meeting and persuaded the Social Union to lend its aid to the undertaking. This was the beginning of the Ford Hall Forum and "it has never left the home in which it was born." From the start the Forum was remarkably successful and to-day "has not only become a conspicuous public platform and developed to a remarkable degree the technique of open discussion of vital questions under orderly restraint, but has also served as the inspiration and model for hundreds of forums scattered throughout the country." Thus it is not only a birthday of this particular forum but a birthday of the forum idea. The remarkable fact is that in this comparatively short time the forum idea has spread not only to a large number of communities but has also developed into so many types, such as Church Forums, Labor Forums, Factory Forums, Women's Club Forums, College Forums and others.

The Anniversary Banquet of the Ford Hall Forum was held the evening of February 28 in the Ford Building. The floor of the hall was crowded and tables were even set in the gallery. The program with Courtenay Crocker as Chairman and Dewitt G. Wilcox (President of the Baptist Social Union) as Toastmaster, included many prominent names such as George W. Coleman (guest of honor), Hon. Alvan T. Fuller, Rabbi Harry Levi, Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald, Dr. Harold Marshall, Charles Kroll, Denis A. McCarthy, who wrote an original poem, and many others. Delcevare King had charge of the festivities which meant that there would be a vigorous expression of the spirit of good fellowship! The result of a recent census taken some weeks ago was read and gives these interesting details: 61 per cent of the audience attend regularly; 58 per cent are men; one-third are foreign born; 61 per cent are of foreign parentage; 37 varieties of religious faith are mentioned; and only two per cent are atheists. Of the speakers best liked, John Haynes Holmes led the list by an overwhelming majority. Greetings were read from Roger Babson, John Graham Brooks, Pres. Murlin, Everett Dean Martin, Rabbi Wise and others who were unable to come. In the greeting from Rabbi Wise were these words: "God be with you in the years that are to come

CORRESPONDENCE

Ten Greatest Men in History

Editor UNITY:

In a recent issue the writer noticed that the Epworth league voted on the 10 greatest men in history, and named Edison as the greatest of the great; Roosevelt second, and Shakespeare third. Then came, in order: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Alfred Tennyson, Herbert Hoover, Charles Dickens, John J. Pershing, David Lloyd George and Andrew J. Volstead.

Now, I will refrain from commenting on Shakespeare, Longfellow, Alfred Tennyson and Charles Dickens, as they belong to a different category of men. I will, also, leave out Lloyd George, as a politician should not be classed as a great man. Herbert Hoover's greatness consists of his being a member of this government. When he was placed in charge of the Eastern famine countries he handed out a loaf of bread to the Russian people with one hand and with the other he gave them a cup filled with hemlock, holding it to their lips so that they might taste the bitter poison prescribed by the powers that be. As to Andrew J. Volstead, it is not even a joke.

Now, the writer will name 10 of the greatest men of his own choice.

The greatest man who ever lived, since the existence of humanity, is living today. His name is Mr. Marconi. He is the saver of human lives. Thousands of people have been saved by his invention, viz., the wireless. When a ship is in distress in midocean the S. O. S. is sent out and aid comes from all directions. When a person takes sick on a steamship, where there is no doctor, the wireless operator calls for a doctor. In a few minutes he is with the patient, prescribes for him, and departs. None of the passengers see him come or leave, but the patient receives treatment. Therefore, Mr. Marconi is the greatest of the great.

William T. G. Morton, the second greatest man, also was a life saver. He was the founder of anaesthetics. Previous to his finding the great remedy, millions of people died under the surgeon's knife, not being able to endure the great agony.

W. K. Roentgen, the discoverer of the X-ray, has saved countless numbers of people from untimely graves and from being permanently crippled. Every affected organ of the body, and broken bones, are shown plainly through the photograph, so that the surgeon does not have to guess where the injury is, but goes direct to the very spot.

John Harvey, the next greatest man, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, also is a life saver, as his discovery opened up to the medical profession a wide field of study, and therefore made possible great progress.

Pasteur, the discoverer of antitoxin, also is among the life savers, and should have his place among the 10 greatest men.

James Watt is another one of the greatest of the 10 men, being the discoverer of steam power, which revolutionized the world.

The next greatest man was Morse, pioneer in telegraphy. You can know in London, in a few minutes, any news from Sydney, Australia.

Next was Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. You can sit in your Seattle office and hold a conversation with your friend in New York, in the same way that you can talk with your next-door neighbor over the back fence.

And of all the mechanical inventors, Edison stands preeminent. He electrified the world. One of his inventions—that is, the phonograph—will be perpetually in existence, and will be a testimony that some world-renowned artist has lived. In a thousand years from now, the people will be able to listen to the voice of the great Caruso.

Gen. John J. Pershing also has been crowned as one of the greatest of the 10 greatest men in history. I might as well include Charles XII. of Sweden, Napoleon, Sherman, who burned up Atlanta, and his beautiful slogan is still in our memory. And why not add Sitting Bull?

These men were engaged in the work of murder and destruction, which caused the greatest miseries and privations to mankind. When will we give credit to those who deserve it?

Seattle. S. ARONSON.

and make the Ford Hall Forum another Fanueil Hall for Boston and all America."

The unbounded energy and enthusiasm of Mr. Coleman has been a dominant factor in the growth of the Ford Hall Forum from the beginning. He has sacrificed for it and persisted in spite of discouragement. And not only has he been active in this particular work. He has been President of the National Council; travelled all over this country sowing the forum seed everywhere and has lately conducted a summer school of Open Forum Methods at the Chautauqua.

As an appreciation of Mr. Coleman and showing the esteem in which he is held, Dr. Marshall at the Banquet proposed the toast—"Here's to King George, the only absolute monarch of the only pure democracy."

C. A. S.

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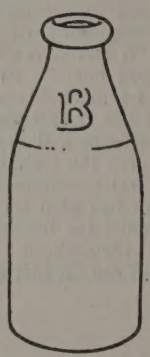

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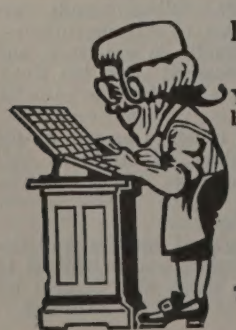

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